DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 233 447 EA 015 869

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TITLE Contributions of Alternative (Nonformal) Education in Developing Countries.
PUB DATE Mar 83
NOTE 36p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society (27th, Atlanta, GA, March 16-19, 1983).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Developing Nations; *Educational Assessment; Educational Objectives; Financial Support; Foreign Countries; *Nonformal Education; Program Content; Program Design; Program Evaluation; *Rural Youth
IDENTIFIERS Kenya; *Rural Craft Training Centers (Kenya); *Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement (Sri Lanka); Sri Lanka

ABSTRACT

An analysis of two alternative (nonformal) rural education projects provides data on Rural Craft Training Centers (RCTC's) in Kenya and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement (SSM) in Sri Lanka. The RCTC objective is to design pilot rural development strategies for expanding income in selected poor; the SSM objective is to build a "righteous society" based on equality, common ownership of the means of production, freedom from exploitation, and people's power. Other project attributes discussed include program size (68 RCTC's in 1978; 2,000 SSM villages in 1977), funding sources (RCTC funds are raised locally; local contributions and foreign philanthropic organizations support the SSM), and curriculum (both projects respond to local needs). A comparison of the projects shows that while both were founded to help the rural poor, RCTC's were begun by foreigners and are both capitalistic and decentralized. The SSM, however, is much larger in size and budget. It is voluntary, socialistic, moralistic, spiritualistic, and was founded by people indigenous to Sri Lanka. Five tables provide data on educational opportunity in Kenya, government-approved RCTC's, subjects taught in RCTC's and the SSM, and the SSM budget (1977-78). (PB)

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF ALTERNATIVE (NONFORMAL) EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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A paper presented at the 27th Annual Conference of the Comparative International Education Society, the Hilton Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, March 16-19, 1983.

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF ALTERNATIVE (NONFORMAL) EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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INTRODUCTION

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to present and to analyze the contributions of alternative (nonformal) education in developing countries. Two countries have been selected; namely, Kenya (Africa), and Sri Lanka (Asia). The rationale for selecting these two countries include: a) agricultural activities being vital to their economic and livelihood existence, b) unemployment being a problem and therefore each of these countries is attempting to alleviate the unemployment problems by providing their youth with skills to enable them to establish some small scale entrepreneurships for income generation activities and self employment, c) development education for self-reliance is one of the common goals for these countries, and d) reduction of illiteracy, poverty, and poor standards of living of their predominantly rural inhabitants.

In each country an alternative education project will be examined and analyzed. Section I will present the activities of the Rural Craft Training Centers (RCTC) (formerly known as Village Polytechnics) in Kenya; Section II will focus on the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement (SSM) in Sri Lanka; Section III will present the highlights of some common elements of these projects, giving similarities, differences, and their orientations in their respective rural community developments.

SECTION I

The Rural Craft Training Centers (RCTC) in Kenya

Introduction

The purpose of this section is to examine and analyze one program for rural development[1] in Kenya, the Rural Craft Training Centers. This section will describe the RCTC as a potential solution to the problem of sky-rocketing unemployment of thousands of primary school graduates who are unable to continue their formal education in the Republic of Kenya, East Africa.

It is appropriate at this point to briefly present the structure of primary schooling in the rural communities. The primary schools of Kenya run from standards one through seven (grades one to seven). At the end of standard seven, students take the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) through which a small number are selected to continue their education in secondary schools. Because the majority of the graduates are in the rural areas, various alternative (non-formal) education agencies have been developed to meet the employment needs of these primary school graduates who are not selected for further formal education. Some of these alternative (non-formal) educational organizations include the National Youth Service run by the Ministry of Labor, 4K Clubs run by the Ministry of Agriculture, and the Rural Craft Training Centers started and continuously funded by the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCK). The term "Village Polytechnics" the initial name of this movement was replaced in 1980 with the name Rural Crafts Training Centers. This section will address the latter--the Rural Crafts Training Centers (RCTC's).

What is meant by a Rural Crafts Training Center? It is a local apprenticeship in the rural areas of Kenya. Its purpose is to train the primary school graduates who are not able to further their formal education in secondary schools. Depending on the community and the availability of resources (e.g. staff, equipments, funds), a RCTC, for example, can train young people in poultry keeping, masonry, carpentry, or dress-making.

By what criteria, then, can the RCTC be described as an alternative (non-formal) education? Philip Coombs, one of the prominent non-formal educational planners has defined non-formal education as ". . .any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children. Thus defined, non-formal education includes, for example, agricultural extension and farmer training programs, adult literacy programs, occupational skill training given outside the formal system, youth clubs with substantial educational purposes, and various community programs of instruction in health, nutrition, family planning, cooperatives, and the like."[2] In this context the term "learning need" is used to indicate "a gap between some conception of a desirable norm,. . .some standard of philosophic value and actual status. . . need is the gap between what is and what should be."[3] The RCTC's aim at attempting to fill the gap which results when students do not go on to secondary shools. The RCTC's, therefore, provide an alternative (non-formal) and practical training ranging from six months to two years in duration depending on the nature of the skills needed by a trainee.

According to Harbison,[4] there are three categories of activity within an alternative (non-formal) educational system: 1) activities

designed mainly to improve the skill and knowledge of those who are currently employed; 2) activities planned particularly to prepare youth to enter into employment; and 3) activities planned to improve and enhance skills in family planning, literacy programs, nutrition, health and others. It is the second category that fits the concept of the RCTC which provides vocational training in the rural areas, using less-sophisticated equipment to improve skills in agriculture and to help candidates to establish local small businesses or to secure other jobs within the local area which will enable them to earn a decent living. The function of alternative (non-formal) education offered through the RCTC's is the preparation of youths for wage-employment, self-employment, and income generating activities in rural communities.

The Evolution of the Rural Craft Training Centers in Kenya

The concept of Rural Craft Training Centers was originally developed in 1965 by a Working Party of the Youth Department of the Christian Council of Kenya plus the Christian Churches' Educational Association. The ideas and conceptualization of RCTC by the two groups (NCCK and CCEA) were published in 1966 in the now famous article, "After School What?"[5] which is often cited by alternative (non-formal) and rural development educational planners. The NCCK aim was to research and attack the problem of an increasing proportion of primary school graduates who are unable to continue their formal education or to find employment of any skilled or permanent nature.

In addition to helping primary level graduates develop job skills, an important objective of the RCTC's was to revive and raise the status of rural craft training. Since Kenya entered world markets, before and after independence, home industry and rural crafts have been displaced and looked upon as backward and inefficient. This has resulted in foreign investment and local skills and resources being drawn to the urban areas which has in many ways strangled the old rural economy without helping to transform it.

Rural people are a major component and important social and productive force in the population. Since the majority of the population lives in the rural areas and practice subsistence farming, the youngsters in the primary schools must be taught that agriculture is a vital and scientific practice and is not a dirty menial job. This should be emphasized throughout the Kenyan schools, while giving less emphasis to the commercial and managerial skills that are primarily provided by and serve the foreign trade sector.

The concept of the RCTC could help in the long run to reduce the imbalance between rural and urban development. This imbalance would be lessened if it were possible for rural and urban areas to

attain "equal" distribution of resources necessary for development. The rewards gained by the urban-based business tend to repress the initiative of the rural masses. By helping to strengthen the autonomy of rural communities the RCTC's contribute to the decrease of the unequal distribution of resources. RCTC's, of course, are only a small part of what must be a radical national comprehensive development plan which would be a subject beyond the scope of this section.

Prior to the RCTC experimental concepts in 1966, there existed a number of youth centers scattered throughout Kenya. The centers were established in the 1950's by the British administrators, during the Mau-Mau movement to help keep unemployed youths and destitute children out of trouble in the Central Province. It was after Kenya's independence in the early 1960's that youth centers were changed from centers of unemployed youths to institutions that provided youths with training which would lead them to some employment. For example, tailoring, masonry and others.[6] It was out of youth centers that the early RCTC's such as Nambale in Busia District, established by the Anglican Mission and Mucii wa Urata on Mwea Tabera Rice Scheme, was started by an extension of the NCCK Christian Rural Training Center.[7]

In September of the same year (1966) the experimental Rural Craft Training Center movement was taking place, an important Conference on Education, Employment and Rural Development was held in Kericho, Kenya. This Conference, now referred to as the Kericho Conference, marks an important point in the history of education in Kenya. The Conference participants included qualified and experienced scholars, politicians, administrators and educators and others from many countries.[8]

The Kericho Conference examined in depth Kenya's educational model (plan), employment and difficulties of rural development, paying particular attention to the alarming problem of the unemployed youths. As shown in Table I only 16% of the 1963-1965 primary school graduates continued with secondary school education or obtained jobs.[9]

TABLE I

Index of Opportunity For Further Education

	1963	1964	1965
K.P.E.* entries	62,125	103,400	150,000
Form I enrollment in aided schools	8,956	11,529	12,754
Index of opportunity	14.4	11.2	8.5
Form I enrollment in unaided schools	3,756	7,486	11,354
Overall index of opportunity	20.0	18.4	16.1

Source: Oluoch, G. et al. "Learning Needs in Rural Areas A Case Study of Vihiga and Hamisi Divisions: The Special Rural Development Programme," International Institute for Educational Planning, Unesco Paris, August, 1977, p. 10.

*K.P.E. stands for Kenya Primary Examination and is the old name now replaced by C.P.E. (Certificate of Primary Education).

Armed with such alarming statistics, the Conference suggested that comprehensive rural development should become a priority of Kenya government's development plans. The Kericho Conference concluded with some of the ideas and concepts that supported the RCTC concepts developed by the NCCK in 1965. These are:

> The overwhelming majority of Kenya citizens live and work in the rural areas. The core of the problem is to bring a rapidly increasing proportion of this rural population into a modern productive economy. This is not only a question of production but of raising income, the status, the self-respect and the satisfactions of the whole farming community. Unless and until this can be achieved, the advance of the urban and industrial sector will be severely checked.

> One of the chief tools with which to achieve this rural transformation is education and training in their many forms--as much the education of the adult farmer in new techniques and attitudes,. . . as much the education of children and adolescents. . .
>
> But while the process of economic investment and education gathers momentum there arises an urgent and inescapable problem of finding productive employment (including self employment), and an increasing income for huge numbers of Kenya citizens whose expectations are rising and for whom economic opportunity has not yet been created.
>
> The Conference was also deeply concerned with the great and growing differentials in earnings between the salaried or wage earning sector of society and the great majority of the population, with its many dangers--dangers of social injustice and conflict, of the retarded economic growth, of misplaced values of aspirations.[10]

Realizing the dilemma of the rural communities, the Kenya government directed its efforts into developing the rural communities, as indicated by the 1970-74 Development Plan. This Plan stated that, "The key strategy for this Plan is to direct an increasing share of the total resources available to the nation towards the rural areas.[11] The 1974-78 Plan reinforced these policies by carrying out various projects. An example would be the Special Rural Development Program (SRDP) described in the Chapters 4.7-4.10 of the 1974-78 Development Plan.[12] The SRDP will be discussed later in this section. Two broad objectives of the RCTC are examined and justified in the following subsection. These are: a) to provide the primary school graduates who are not able to further their formal secondary school education with skills for self-employment, and b) to maintain a relationship or link with potential employers in the Republic of Kenya.

The practical task of Rural Craft Training Centers are to provide those primary school graduates who are unable to further their formal education with the opportunity to utilize available immediate resources in their rural communities. The utilization of rural community resources would increase the chances for employment or self employment.

After the achievement of independence in Kenya, December 12, 1963, formal education was seen as an important vehicle that would improve the standard of living in the society. People became optimistic because of what education could bring to them. As a consequence, the Kenya government committed a large part of its national income

to education. From 1965-68 the Ministry of Education budget was increased by 40% (previous % not indicated) to a sum of £6.8 million ($21, million).[13] In 1975 the Ministry of Education reported that, the "Ministry tops the List Again" (subheading of the budget). The report went on to say that formal education in Kenya received the highest priority for development after independence. This report further pointed out that in 1975/76 the net estimates for education was £2,851,000 ($188,553,000).[14] This amount was about 34% of the government's recurrent budget which is probably the highest in the world. And the former Minister of Education, Dr. Z. Onyonka stated in 1975, that "The Ministry takes the lion's share of National Budget . . ."[15]

Despite such a colossal amount of money spent on formal education, the outcome shows that the system benefits only a small portion of the primary school graduates. For example, in 1971 out of 170,000 candidates who sat for CPE (Certificate of Primary Education) examination only 14% were able to proceed on with formal education in the government and private secondary schools. The rest (86%) were faced with the scarcity of employment as reported by Somerset.[16] Sifuna further adds that formal education is only available for a small fraction of Kenyan youths: nearly 60% enter primary education and less than 5% make it in the formal school pyramid.[17] Also, in 1975 the Ministry of Education reported that out of 220,000 candidates who sat for CPE only 27,000 (about 14%) went on to formal secondary schools.[18] This evidence is realistic and very alarming.

Because formal education, both at the primary and secondary school levels in Kenya, have been expanding and the number of graduates at these formal insitutions increases in thousands each year. Hence the growing rate of unemployment in Kenya, particularly in the rural areas, worsens each year. The accurate figures of unemployment are not easily obtained but it is one of the major national problems especially in rural communities.

This writer predicts a continuous increase in unemployment among primary school graduates due to the introduction of universal education for grades 1-7 which started in 1979. If the primary pupils start school at about age six they will be about fourteen years old when they complete primary education. As a consequence two problems will arise: 1) About 14% will be able to further their formal education in the secondary schools and 2) the remaining 86% will be too young (about fourteen years old) to compete for the few available jobs. At this point there exists a gap that needs to be filled with alternative (non-formal) education for 15-18 year olds. This age group requires some alternative training that will prepare them to utilize the available resources in their rural communities. Although Kenya's Development Plan 1970-74 did plan for the expansion of the practical studies for secondary school students there was no government

programs for primary school graduates. However, the SRDP projects to be discussed below tend to show the government interests in rural development, but that is not enough, more actions in the form of commitments and financing RCTC's and other rural alternative (non-formal) education require a serious attention both from the Kenya government and rural dwellers.

Low budget RCTC's are a type of alternative (non-formal) education utilizing available resources and appropriate technology. The primary school graduates attending RCTC's would improve not only their own individual lives and incomes but those of others in the rural communities. Formal education in Kenya tends to prepare students only for the next level of education. When students finish this formal education at a designated period the students are unprepared for the life they will have to face in a predominantly rural nation. Because Kenya is basically an agricultural country, this writer feels that alternative (non-formal) education in the rural communities in the form of Rural Craft Training Centers are more relevant to the population. They provide the graduates with appropriate training and skills that are supportive of their rural life-styles. Therefore, the Kenya government should be committed to funding these alternative educational programs.

In order to insure the employment of its graduates, the RCTC's should develop and maintain a relationship or link with potential employers wherever possible, particularly in the local community.

The purpose of maintaining a link with local or outside employers is to aid in securing jobs for those potential graduates who may not be able to employ themselves due to the problems of inappropriate skills or capitalization of a small business. It is possible that after a RCTC graduate has accomplished certain skills, e.g., tailoring, he/she may be able to be employed as a tailor and after a couple of years he/she might have accummulated funds to rent a shop to carry on the business.

Another important necessity is for the RCTC's to keep contact with all the potential employers in the area and to investigate the types of employment that can be provided each year according to their needs. Such contact with potential employers along with the "self-help" concept would give the RCTC's some indications of what to train their students for. This base, then, would motivate and enhance the hopes of the trainees. The philosophy behind such a base is that mere training with no well specified goals or purpose would not even begin to solve rural unemployment problems. For example, if you train an individual for tractor repair in an area where there are very few tractors such an individual would be frustrated after completing his/her training and find that he could not obtain a job in tractor repair.

The principle that the labor supply responds to what the labor market demands is applied in the Kenyan context of a mixed economy. But the relevance of this policy for balanced, long term national development can be debated in light of Kenya's present problems with unemployment and poor educational opportunities. For the past fifteen years the formal school system has prepared students to meet the demands of a growing civil service and commercial sector, both of which serve, for the most part, the urban population and export interests. The RCTC's are often put in a position of training students to meet the job demands of private industry while the independent needs of the rural communities may be very different. The poor state of health and nutrition in the rural areas demands much more attention through medical and agricultural training. These demands would, for example, include bee-keeping which would provide honey for sale. Honey, a basically nutritious substance, has many uses as a sugar substitute. Hence it will be marketable.

Another common or universal demand is poultry-keeping which provides eggs and chicken meat. Eggs, in particular, will provide protein to the people and as a result the "protein" intake will improve the health of rural inhabitants. Protein deficiencies in the rarely balanced diet of many people in the developing nations, particularly in the rural communities is a serious problem and must be improved. This could be approached through something like the RCTC structure. Also, the state of industrial arts has deteriorated due to massive imports of manufactured goods and RCTC's could help rebuild home industries. Having examined these broad objectives of the RCTC's, the Special Rural Development Program (SRDP) project tended to compliment the RCTC's rural development activities.

Implementation of SRDP: An Example of RCTC

The main purposes of SRDP were to design pilot rural development strategies for expanding rural income in selected poor and crowded districts. Also, it had to delineate a structure which could serve as the models for implementation of SRDP throughout the rest of rural Kenya.

Thus far, the SRDP has carried out its work in one of the six selected representative rural districts. The original selection was composed of fourteen districts. From this original figure the following six districts were selected:[19]

District	Division
Kwale	South Kwale
Nyeri	North Tetu
West Pokot	Kapenguria
Embu	Mbere
South Nyanza	Migori/Kihancha
Kakamega	Vihiga/Hamisi

The Kenya case study team expedited the national policies of improving rural districts. This team worked in or studied Vihiga and Hamisi Divisions in Kakamega District located in Western Province. Some of the major elements of SRDP included the improvement of the following major characteristics of rural communities:

a. Rural health and sanitation;
b. Increase agricultural production and improve livestock;
c. Improve rural industries and vocational training, etc.

In the Vihiga/Hamisi Divisions the SRDP concentrated on improving:

d. vegetable production;
e. grade cattle (Artificial Insemination);
f. village polytechnics and rural industries.

The SRDP reflects the central government's keen interest in developing, initiating, and popularizing alternative educational programs. In the introduction of 1974-78 Plan the late President Kenyatta stated that, "The government will play a more active role in the economy than ever before. Rural areas transformation was heralded in the previous Plan (1970-74) will be further developed."

Clientele and Recruitment Criteria

Earlier in this paper, it was pointed out that alternative education is established to serve particular needs of a sub-group or groups in a population. The RCTC's recruit most of their clientele from the pool of primary school graduates. Wanjala[20] has observed that in more than thirty RCTC's throughout Kenya, there were over a thousand trainees, about 700 boys and 300 girls. Most of the RCTC's admit both boys and girls into their programs, but the Mbale RCTC and Kithoka Girls RCTC (Meru) are exclusively for girls.

Most of the recruits come from thousands of annual primary school graduates. It has been observed that about 50% of RCTC's are actively seeking trainees. As a result of this search, the major criterion for the admission has been a trainee's ability to pay the required fees. The fees range from KShs. 40 ($6) to KShs. 200 ($29)

per year. The payment of fees is a major impediment for many rural primary school graduates. A study of RCTC done by Court in 1972 showed that, 44% of the RCTC trainees were not able to finish their courses: "And of this group 66%" claimed the shortage of fees as the main reason."[21] Many others are frustrated by the bureaucracy of certification inherited from the British. A RCTC graduate must pass a Grade Test in order to obtain a job and the test is written up for the modern industrial sector of the economy and is not sensitive to the alternative training in the rural sector. So when RCTC's students fail this test they repeat a year of school, of course paying more fees, or drop the program altogether. There must be guaranteed government funding to subsidize the RCTC's if the RCTC's are really going to serve the unemployed rural primary school graduates. Also, the government must make more effort to create tests which are relevant to the rural sector as well as the urban.

Size of Program, Source of Funds and Management

Since the inception of RCTC's in 1966, the number of established RCTC's in Kenya has increased to eighteen by 1970.[22] But in 1973 Wanjala reported that there were over thirty RCTC's operating in Kenya--most of them receiving grants from NCCK.

In 1975 Sifuna[23] cited the Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services reports which indicated that there were fifty-three RCTC's in operation but their distributions were not provided. The recent Kenya Development Plan 1974-78 stated that, "The Ministry of Education program for remote areas was designed to break the cycle of poverty for nomadic, pastoral peoples. The Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services has developed an extensive network of sixty-eight Village Polytechnics which provide primary school leavers (graduates) with skills which will enable them to be self-employed in rural areas."[24] In the sixty-eight RCTC's there were over 3,000 trainees. Table II shows the distribution of RCTC's in the seven provinces of Kenya.

The financing of RCTC training programs varies according to their scope of operation which is dictated by resources (staff, equipment, etc.) and locality. At the grassroot level, the local community committees are responsible for operating a RCTC. Budget planning is one of the critical tasks. Because RCTC's are designed to serve local communities, a substantial proportion of funds to cover the costs are raised locally. The support that the RCTC's have been receiving have been in the form of land and buildings. In addition to this "self-help" concept and cooperation, community residents play an important part. The tuition and revenue from sold products made by its trainees and sold in the local community, such as furniture or farm products, become part of a RCTC income. The average annual budget for each

RCTC with 3-4 courses has been estimated to be KShs. 24,000 ($3,400) annually. Every RCTC has a management committee, a manager, and qualified instructors for the courses that are being offered.

TABLE II

Government-Approved Rural Craft Training Centers
(Village Polytechnics), November 1973

District	Number	Total Enrollment	Percentage of Total Enrollment and Population*
CENTRAL PROVINCE			
Kiambu	4	281	
Muranga	3	365	
Nyandarua	2	65	
Kirinyaga	2	232	
Nyeri	4	226	
		1,169	30.5 (15.3)
COAST PROVINCE			
Taita	4	220	
Mombasa	1	107	
Kilifi	2	74	
Kwale	3	99	
Tana River	1	37	
		437	14.0 (8.6)
EASTERN PROVINCE			
Embu	1	89	
Machakos	2	194	
Kitui	2	94	
Meru	3	203	
Isiolo	1	20	
		600	15.6 (17.4)

TABLE II (continued)

District	Number	Total Enrollment	Percentage of Total Enrollment and Population*
NORTH EASTERN PROVINCE			
Garissa	1	15	
Wajir	1	40	
Mandera	1	30	
		85	2.2 (2.2)
NYANZA PROVINCE			
Siaya	3	200	
Kisumu	2	(One new) 72	
S. Nyanza	3	211	
Kisii	3	105	
		588	15.3 (19.4)
RIFT VALLEY PROVINCE			
Kajiado	1	26	
Narok	1	30	
Kericho	1	74	
Nandi	1	19	
Elgeyo Marakwet	1	69	
Baringo	1	30	
Laikipia	1	20	
W. Pokot	1	38	
Turkana	1	12	
		318	8.2 (20.4)
WESTERN PROVINCE			
Kakamega	4	290	
Busia	3	162	
Bungoma	2	87	
		539	14.1 (12.3)
GRAND TOTAL	67	3,836	100.0

Source: Kipkorir, B. E. "Kenya: Development and Coordination of Nonformal Programs" in Education for Rural Development (Eds.) P.H. Coombs and Manzoor Ahmed, Praegar Publishers, New York: 1975, pp. 193-194.

*Percentages of national population in the provinces are shown in parenthesis. These do not add up to 100 percent, because population of Nairobi is excluded.

RCTC's Staff and Personnel

The Kenya government proposed a total of sixty rural projects to which it planned to give grants-in-aid between the year 1973-74. The grants-in-aid were to be used to construct workshops, staff quarters, purchase equipment, train students, pay staff salaries and traveling allowances. Provincial Prevocational Training officers in each province were to be hired to supervise the program, four had already been hired. In addition, the Kenya government was expecting to set up a Research and Training Center. Prior to 1973, instructors and managers of RCTC's attended short courses held once or twice a year at Limuru Conference and Training Center. The courses were arranged by the staff at LCTC and officers from NCCK and government officers.[25]

While recent information on the follow-up of the above plans is not available at this time, the Kenya Development Plan 1974-78 pointed out that staff training programs will be included in the development of district plans for local projects. Although part of this rural development has been carried out by the SRDP discussed earlier, the nature of the staff training remains undefined.

The Rural Craft Training Centers Curriculum

It can be said that to a large extent that the nature and needs of rural communities dictates the type of curriculum used in RCTC's. While there are standard courses of traditional skills emphasized, the curriculum is not uniform across RCTC's in Kenya. Standard courses usually include domestic science (hygiene), carpentry, masonry, agriculture, bookkeeping, animal husbandry and academic subjects. Non-traditional courses that respond to other needs of rural communities include typing, bookkeeping, brick-making, charcoal-making, pit sawing or well-digging. A more comprehensive list of courses offered in the majority of RCTC's provided by Anderson's[26] survey of RCTC's in 1970 is presented in Table III.

TABLE III

Subjects Taught in Kenya Rural Craft Training Centers (VPs), 1970

Subjects	Number of RCTC's (VPs) Teaching the Subject
Craft/Skill	
Carpentry	12
Masonry	7
Tailoring (male)	2
Tailoring/Dressmaking (female)	2
Domestic Science, including baking and some dressmaking (female)	5
Typing (male and female)	1
Sign Writing	1
Tractor Driving (special course, three months)	1
Craft/Skill	
Poultry Keeping (special course, three months)	1
Tin Smithery (bicycle repairing, option in the evening)	1
Agriculture	
Agriculture (male)	10
Animal Husbandry	1
Academic Subjects	
English	11
Mathematics	10
Technical training	3
Science	1
Hygiene (female)	2
Civics	5
Religious Knowledge	7
Swahili	1
Recreational	8

The RCTC's curriculum is characterized by its individualized and on-the-job learning in contrast to formal schooling whose curriculum is rigid, restricted by national examinations, uniformity and standardized group-oriented structure. Unlike in the formal school system where English is the medium of instruction, the RCTC's usually use ethnic language or Swahili depending on locality. There is a trend, however, of using English in some RCTC's so students may pass the tests for certification, particularly the Government Trade Test demanded especially in the urban sectors of the Kenya economy.

Court's report on curriculum of the RCTC's has shown that some RCTC's view themselves as vocational training institutions which have more sophisticated equipment and building facilities (technical secondary schools). Thus, a kind of competition between less-equipped VPs and well-equipped vocational institutions in created. This puts the RCTC's in a disadvantageous position.[27] Sifuna's observation has shown that those RCTC's that compare themselves with strong and well-equipped vocational training centers tend to aim for a high quality curriculum which can be too expensive for local inhabitants.[28] Because of the emphasis on quality workmanship and the extent of rural poverty, such a curriculum would discourage the rural population from buying such quality goods produced by the RCTC trainees. As a consequence, some RCTC's can be put out of business. Another consequence would be the RCTC graduates would be forced to leave the local community without providing any economic benefit to the community or the graduates.

Evaluation of RCTC's Program

Because RCTC's are designed to prepare the primary school graduates for either self-employment or other semi-skilled jobs, the evaluative question that needs to be asked is: "Have the RCTC's (VPs) helped the rural primary school graduates find jobs?" And if not "What has happened to the RCTC (VP) graduates?" These questions have no easy answers because in order to assess the full effectiveness of RCTC's we need accurate records and follow-up studies of the graduates. Although the RCTC's are ill-financed, there should be a branch of their administration to attempt to keep accurate records of the whereabouts of the graduates, as well as a complete semi-annual or annual inventory of their products, profits, losses and depreciations.

Who does in fact evaluate the RCTC's? The literature cited indicates that the Institute for Development Studies of the University of Nairobi has been the chief evaluator of the RCTC's. A survey undertaken by Anderson provides a comprehensive evaluation from a representative sample of RCTC's. Anderson reported that 53% and 35% of males and females respectively were in some kind of regular wage earning job. Also, 10% and 8% of males and females respectively were in some type

type of further training. In addition, this report indicated that about 30% of all RCTC's graduates and nearly 37% of male graduates obtaining regular jobs have found them in the urban areas.[29]

These findings, if accurate, show that the drift into urban areas in search of better regular wage earning employment by RCTC graduates has not been curbed. The aspiration for "white collar" jobs in the urban areas, perpetuated by our former "colonial masters" is still operating and it will take a long time to convince the growing Kenyan youths that agriculture, masonry, well-digging, etc. are valuable means of making a decent living in rural communities and are not "dirty jobs" as has been and is still conceived by our young people. The classifying of manual and agricultural jobs as "dirty work" came with the advent of British colonialism about a hundred years ago and this concept still "lingers around" in the former British colonies.

Observations

The principles of alternative education, particularly the RCTC's concepts, suggest that if the Kenya government would support these institutions, there is a likelihood of providing marketable skills to the primary school graduates in the rural communities. As a result the frustrated primary school graduates flooding urban centers in search of employment would be curbed. It is also hoped that in the long run the rural craftpersons through the RCTC concept and other social change would be recognized for their important contribution to community life. The present second-class status of rural craftpersons as perceived by the society needs to be eliminated. Although the elimination of such negative perception cannot be done overnight, the Kenya educators must be sensitive to it and help in the process to eliminate it.

The next section will present and analyze the nature and activities of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka.

SECTION II

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement (SSM) in Sri Lanka

Introduction

Like Kenya, Sri Lanka (formerly known as Ceylon) was under western colonialism for many years. The last western colonial power in Sri Lanka was Great Britain. But, unlike Kenya, Sri Lanka has been politically independent for nearly thirty-five years, after having regained its political freedom from Britain in 1948. Prior to

this date, the British type of education was prevalent as correctly stated by Ariyadasa that ". . . education in Sri Lanka from the time of the institution of the Department of Public Instruction in the year 1869 has had a chequered past, no less chequered than the history of education itself with which it was inescapably interwoven. . . Her [His] Magesty's Inspectors of Schools and other educators from Britain filled the berths of Directors of Public Instruction and Directors of Education."[30] Since independence, Sri Lanka has made major reforms in its formal educational system and these reforms are beyond the scope of this section.

The purpose of this section is to present an alternative educational program for rural development in Sri Lanka--namely the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement (SSM) and its numerous self-reliant activities in hundreds of villages in this island. The SSM has had a tremendous impact to some degree in improving the conditions of living for many villagers who have been reached by the Movement, and have actively participated in its activities as will be discussed later in this section.

The Evolution of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement (SSM)

What is the SSM? Briefly described the "Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is a non-governmental, non-profit, non-sectarian, non-political peoples movement. . . and an approved charity"[31] organization. In addition, the Movement places its emphasis on voluntary services. In the late 1950's the idea of the SSM surfaced as the colonial type of British education was discovered to be catering only to the few "white collar" workers designed to man the administrative machinery of the British colonial government in Sri Lanka, and the private commercial sectors of the economy; hence neglecting the development and improvement of standards of living in the rural communities where the predominantly poor and the majority of the population reside.

Recognizing this disparity, a group of seventeen young volunteer teachers from Nalanda High School and Maharagama English Teacher Training College, led by Mr. A. T. Ariyaratne, who conceived the idea of the SSM, left in 1958 for Kanatholuwa, a tiny "low caste" rural village in the most undeveloped Rodiya community of Sri Lanka, just fifty-eight miles from Colombo, the capital city. Accompanying these concerned teachers were forty students, thirteen boy scouts and fifteen rural development officers. Most of the members of this team had some experience in social service activities in the rural areas. These pioneer volunteers went to Kanatholuwa where they lived with the inhabitants, shared their food, learned from each other, assisted the villagers in constructing houses, latrines, and other necessary basic facilities and appropriate technologies for rural development. These concerned rural developers did not go to this village with the technology "out of

the ordinary." In fact it seems as if they were guided by the following appropriate and relevant words from an ancient poet who rightfully stated that, "Go in search of your people, Love them, Learn from them, Serve them, Begin with what they know, Build on what they have."[32]

The young pioneers chose the Kanatholuwa village because it had several depressing characteristics of very underdeveloped state. These included: the fact that the villagers were of the lowest caste; they were refused employment anywhere outside their village, their children were not accepted into the schools within their vicinity, the Buddist monks did not perform religious rituals on their behalf and did not accept or receive alms from them; and that these villagers were forced to beg from house to house in the neighboring villages.

Upon arriving at the Kanatholuwa village, the team of young volunteers observed, assessed, the situation and apprised the residents who they came to work with, live with, and learn from and to eat with. The members of the team worked with the villagers in all aspects of village development (clearing home gardens, constructing school buildings, conducting literacy classes for adults) for about a fortnight. In the evenings they all participated in folksongs, and played games with the villagers. In doing so, they developed close friendships and won the confidence of the villagers through a self-reliance spirit. The young volunteers of the Kanatholuwa village later named this pilot project 'Kanatholuwa Development Educational Extension and Community Service Camp.' These concerned citizens were inspired and deeply influenced by the ideals and inspirations of the Sarvodaya (spiritual reawakening) movement of Mahatma Gandhi and Vinobha Bhave of the Indian sub continent.[33] The word "Sarvodaya" according to the founder of the SSM refers to the SSM of Sri Lanka and not to be confused with the Sarvodaya movement in India. Ariyaratne further asserts that, even though the pioneers of the SSM were initially inspired by the Ghandhian ideals and movement in India, the SSM is distinctly Sri Lankan in all of its methods and philosophy.[34]

Having examined the ways and roots of the SSM, a question can be raised. How did these dedicated volunteer citizens approach the situation at the Kanatholuwa village? Using the appropriate technology and working with the villagers hand in hand these volunteers demonstrated that it was possible to do the following:

- breakdown age-old barriers of social ostracism;
- awaken to their own potential a community of people who were languishing in misery for centuries;
- make leaders out of so-called lethargic villagers who in actual fact were by-passed by development efforts of the past;

- initiate a process of constructive community action which would lead to a number of positive change reactions that would awaken other individuals and groups for rural development efforts.[35]

As it will be seen, the SSM has been and continues to be, one of the largest single voluntary organizations in developing countries that has made a significant constructive change toward a self-reliance movement among the rural Sri Lankans. What are the objectives of the SSM? The following few paragraphs will describe the aims, objectives and philosophy of the Movement.

Objectives of the SSM

The founders of the Sarvodaya (awakening of all) Shramadana (gift of labor) Movement in Sri Lanka thought that if structural constructive changes in the Sri Lankan society, and in particular, the changes in the socio-economic and political parties (e.g., Sri Lanka Freedom Party) developed in the 1950's were to be of value to millions of under-priviledged people in the nation, participation of the predominantly rural people was of great significance to the development of the rural communities. In fact, this development can be exemplified by the SSM beginning its activities of rural development initially with the most under-priviledged villagers of the Rodiya community in Sri Lanka. Basically, the SSM philosophy is substantially drawn from Buddhism. Ariyaratne, has strongly stated that,

> "We need not make any apology for drawing abundantly from the wealth of Buddhist thought we have inherited for generations. However, we have attempted to apply this thought to the formulation of socio-economic ideals which are in harmony with universal moral and spiritual ends. For the motivation of youth and the building up of a leadership for the Movement the lucid philosophy of life as found in the teachings of the Buddha and the culture resulting therefrom were utilized. According to Lord Buddha's teachings man's suffering is mainly due to his ignorance of the true nature of things within him and around him. In his teachings he shows a Middle Path practice for those who seek true happiness in order that they may overcome their ignorance and the resulting suffering."[36]

It is quite apparent that Ariyaratne and his disciples are concerned with constructively changing political, social and economic conditions of Sri Lanka. Of equal importance is Ariyaratne's concern of improving the dignity and worth of humankind. In many of his miscellaneous articles[37] on the SSM, he has emphasized on human dignity, worth and

spiritualism. It also seems that in his writings, the basic foundations of the SSM are nonviolence, truth, love, gift of labor, and sharing. In a broader and global spectrum these elements (truth, love, etc.) translate into what Ariyaratne calls "harnessing the goodness of man for the total awakening of all." In essence, the SSM has played a significant role in mobilizing the people at the grassroots to help themselves. This mobilization strategy is similar to the consciousness raising in the Freirean terminology. Weffort contended that "the awakening of critical consciousness leads the way to the expression of social discontents precisely because these discontents are real components of an oppressive situation."[38]

It is clear that the SSM operates on the following principles/objectives:

- to liberate humankind from ignorance and to develop man's personalities;
- to reawaken (consciousness raising) both village and urban dwellers for a total community development;
- to liberate and re-awaken a total national community;
- to liberate the world community in the process of re-awakening them towards human brotherhood and peace.

The overall objective of the SSM is to build a "righteous society" in Sri Lanka based on equality and common ownership of the means of production, freedom from exploitation and people's power. The following are specific objectives of the Movement:

- to awaken masses of rural people to exploit their own development potentials through self-help and self-reliance;
- to bring about the general recognition of the value utilizing labor resources, which the people are voluntarily ready to contribute to the development of the nation;
- to evolve in the country a grassroot development leadership inspired by people's traditional cultural values, and to gain knowledge through participatory experience in the science of village development; and

- to pave the way for a development theory and practice in which an integrated approach is made towards the development of human persons in their respective communities and the world at large.

In addition to these objectives, kindness, equanamity, compassion and equality are important attributes of the SSM philosophy. It is through these attributes and others like them that the SSM use in constructively changing the economic and social conditions of Sri Lanka. At one time the Prime Minister, Mr. Premadasa stated that, "A society is composed of human beings. They must change first, [the] Sarvodaya is the basis of that change. . ." Further, in support of the SSM, the President of Sri Lanka, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene distinguished the difference between the government programs and the SSM programs by indicating that, the difference between the two is that "the Sarvodaya Programme and the government programme. . . [culminates in achieving our aims] through political power. . .while the Sarvodaya Movement aims at gaining its objectives by working directly with the people it is possible for both our organizations to work together for the betterment of the nation." From these strong and powerful statements from the key leaders of the nation, it seems as if the SSM philosophy and its activities, although it differs with those of the government the SSM has a "green light" to prosper through its own philosophy developed to living and working voluntarily in the villages with the inhabitants; more often in the most remote and very undeveloped villages. Armed with this information of the SSM evolution, its objectives and philosophy; we can ask, who are the clinetele and what are recruitment criteria of this Movement? The answers pertaining to this question are presented below.

Clientele and Recruitment Criteria

Before examining the nature of how the clientele are recruited it is necessary to present the stages of how a village goes about joining the SSM. There are three stages: first, the socioeconomic (assessment needs) are conducted initially in those villages anticipating or intending to join the Movement. This initial step provides the staff of the SSM with ascertainable problems in a village(s). At the second stage, (the Sharamadana) or work camps and initial activities of the SSM are developed and carried out, eg., volunteering to construct roads, latrines, wells, etc. The third stage is (the gramodaya) or the awakening of the village. At this level the Sarvodaya organizations are developed, this is the stage in which village people are provided with the philosophy and goals of the SSM. Village development plans are planned and implemented. The activities of training the SSM volunteers, the monks, selected villagers are conceptualized as processes of reawakening activities intended for self-help and

collective self-help in the communities concerned. Major educational and administrative units are: a) community leadership, b) training for pre-school instructors, c) crafts training, d) agricultural training and e) Buddhist monks leadership training.

What then are the actual criteria for selection of the clientele for the SSM? The selections are done based on these items:

- Application forms are issued to the local leaders in the villages associated with the SSM;
- Interested applicants can send letters of request to the headquarters of the SSM to join the movement;
- Age: children 7-12 years old, youth 16-25 years old, and those who are 26 years old and over are accepted for all village level activities;
- Village organizations and the local leaders in these villages select applicants (or nominate) them and forward their names to the headquarters of the SSM;
- At times the village center itself can receive the applications from potential members, and screen them to select the qualified candidates for training;
- Applicants aptitude for work development and his/her association with the SSM is necessary for the selection process.

These can be considered general criteria. However, specific criteria are used for candidates in each of the five areas outlined above; (e.g., one criterion for selecting a candidate for training as a pre-school instructor, nine years of schooling with a 'diploma' is required). The duration of training in any of the five areas presented varies from two weeks to six months. Having examined these criteria, subsequently we must know how big a program is the SSM, and where does this movement get its funds to run numerous programs in the rural communities of Sri Lanka?

Size of Program, Source of Funds, Management/Personnel

In the preceeding pages of this section, it was noted that the SSM evolved in 1958. After the experience of the Kinatholuwa village where the first village camp was established, the positive outcome of this camp encouraged the pioneers of the SSM to extend their valuable services to other villages. Consequently, by 1961 (three years later),

twenty-six SSM villages had been established. In addition, thirty-six work camps were conducted in the three year period. By 1968, one-hundred and twenty-five SSM villages were developed. Also, 250,000 volunteers were involved in rural community development in these villages. In 1972, there were 1,000 SSM villages and at that time it was estimated that by 1977, 2,000 villages would be actively involved in the SSM and its activities in the rural sectors of Sri Lanka.[40]

In 1977 however, Ariyaratne reported that there were over 1,200 villages involved in SSM activities and the SSM continues to expand progressively. This movement is the biggest non-governmental association in Sri Lanka.[41] In order to have over 1,200 SSM villages operating sufficiently, fifty-two Extension Centers, five Development Education Centers, a Research Center and a National and International Headquarters have been constructed.[42] How are the affairs of the SSM managed and implemented? It is apparent that the SSM is already a large and a complex voluntary organization in Sri Lanka--so, when such a structure has been formed, effective manageability of its functions becomes a necessity.

The SSM Executive Council is the major policy-making body within this Movement. It is made up of a president (A. T. Ariyaratne), two vice presidents, a general secretary, an organizing secretary, two assistant secretaries, an assistant treasurer, and Elders Council of fifteen persons and eleven other executive council members; this constitutes a total of thirty-five people. Twenty of this number are individuals over twenty-five years of age who are elected by the membership annually. The remaining fifteen are the Council of Elders. Additionally, there are thirty-five invitee members who must come from Sri Lanka who are asked by the members of this council to serve on its (Executive Council) because of their special knowledge and skills in rural development activities, e.g., experts in the field of appropriate technology.[43]

The general membership of the SSM can be categorized as follows: a) children 7-16 years old; b) youth 16-35 years old; c) mothers; farmers; etc. Those who pay dues are categorized as (life, honorary, ordinary, donor, youth and international membership.[44] The source of funds to carry out all the vital functions of the SSM comes from a variety of sources. It is apparent that the activities of the SSM has been increasing over the years. As a result of this increase, there has been financial support both from the local people in Sri Lanka and foreign philanthropic organizations. For example, NOVIB of Holland, OXFAM (United Kingdom and the United States of America), and Friedrich Neumann Stiftung of the Federal Republic of Germany. According to the financial report for 1977-78, annual expenditures were in the Rs. 34 million range. The exchange rate at the time (1977) was Rs. 8.00 to one U.S. dollar.

The itemization of the expenditures are presented in Table IV. This does not include land and buildings donated by supporters of the SSM, volunteer labor and locally donated food, rice etc.

TABLE IV

The SSM Annual Budget, 1977-78

Shramadana Camp Organization	Rs. 2,862,972
Preschool Program, Community Kitchen-cum-Health Care	6,787,225
Gramodaya Revolving Fund	6,458,500
Development Education Activities	149,290
Development Education Center (Meth Medura)	607,819
Development Education Center (Tanamalwila)	7,367,670
Development Education Center (Baddegama)	460,150
Development Education Center (Kandy)	979,937
Development Education Center (Pathakada)	610,340
Development Education Center (Karativu)	349,797
Sarvodaya Library Service	218,450
Gramodaya Centers	1,721,030
Finance and Accountability	334,960
General Support Service	1,503,110
Production and Marketing Unit	1,597,335
Sarvodaya Research Centre	534,015
Visvodaya Building--Capital Expenditure	1,500,000
Total	Rs. 34,042,600

Source: Ratnapala, Nandesena. The Sarvodaya Movement Self Help Rural Development in Sri Lanka, International Council for Education, Essex, Connecticut, 1978, p. 26.

A close examination of this table reveals that Tanamalwila Development Education Center takes the "lion's share" of the expenditure. The rationale for this expenditure is that it has 500 acres of land of mixed agriculture and dairy farm. Following this is the expenditure for pre-school centers and the community kitchens which are the most important areas for rural development in the SSM. According to Ratnapala "The movement provides an allowance for the instructors, arranges preparatory and refresher training for them, and bears the transportation cost for the distribution of donated milk powder in the community kitchens."[45]

In addition, the volunteer workers are paid monthly allowance of approximately eighteen dollars by the headquarters of the SSM. Frequently, there is one volunteer worker in each SSM village or a volunteer may be responsible for a cluster of villages. A volunteer is usually selected by the Sarvodaya group in a village. This volunteer worker is then sent to be trained in one of the regional education centers for two weeks or three months in the philsophy of the Movement and rural development work. What does the curriculum of the SSM entail? The presentation of its curriculum follows.

The SSM Curriculum

Like the RCTC curriculum in Kenya, the nature of the SSM curriculum is dictated by the needs of the people in rural communities. Prior to having a rural village to be involved in the SSM activities, its needs assessment is carried out by the personnel of the SSM. In many instances the needs for many villages tend to be the same, but occasionally there are some exceptions depending on the availability of resources in a community.

Courses in crafts and skills in many SSM training centers include making batiks, painting and designing batiks, making indikola (type of reed) for making baskets, weaving, etc., agricultural training, blacksmiths, rural industrial skills, i.e., woodwork, ironwork, and building skills. Duration of these courses/training varies from two weeks to six months depending on the skills required by trainees.

A specific example of the nature and content of a typical SSM curriculum would make the point clear. One of the regional centers, Baddegama in the southern district of Galle provides some of the effective activities of the SSM. These examples are indicated in Table V below.

TABLE V

Courses Taught at Baddegama

Year	Subject	No. of Trainees
1974	Agriculture	30
1975	Agriculture	15
1975	Batik	10
1975	Indikola Weaving	5
1975	Carpentry	15
1975	Blacksmithy	15
1976	Carpentry	21
1976	Metal Work	12
1976	Batik	7
1976	Pre-School Instructors	14
1976	Indikola Weaving	17

Source: Ratnapala Nandesena. The Sarvodaya Movement Self Help Rural Development in Sri Lanka, International Council for Education, Essex, Connecticut, 1978, p. 21.

The selection criteria for the trainees has already been described in the preceeding pages. Armed with the information at hand, how effective has the SSM been in improving the lives and standards of living in the rural villages of Sri Lanka?

Evaluation of the SSM Program

Judging from the philosophy of the Movement, it is clear that its objectives directly relate to spiritual reawakening and developing moral values and ethics pertaining to good behavior of the Sri Lankan peoples. Nevertheless, the SSM has influenced and continues to grow despite various impediments (finances, etc.) and its critics. The SSM program has built badly needed roads, canals, built buses for poor and physically handicapped people. The emphasis has been on human needs--which has been stressed over and over again by Ariyaratne, the SSM founder, in many of his writings and speeches. There is no program free of criticisms. Of course it is easy to criticize any educational project or movement. But it can be very difficult to find the critics helping to build a house for a disabled person or digging a latrine. Therefore, the SSM has made "a good dent" in rural development badly needed in Sri Lanka.

A team of researchers headed by Dr. Ratnapala of the University of Sri Lanka, has attempted to evaluate the SSM effectiveness, in the rural communities of Sri Lanka where the SSM has concentrated its efforts. The findings of Dr. Ratnopala's work is entitled The Sarvodaya Movement: Self Help Rural Development in Sri Lanka published in 1978 by the International Council for Educational Development, Essex, Connecticut. The summary of this study is as follows:

- Approximately 2,000 villages out of a total of 24,000 in Sri Lanka have come in contact with the SSM activities and 300,000 volunteers have participated in the SSM activities;

- Approximately 300 villages have reached the gramodaya stage, i.e., a structure of community development has evolved;

- The pre-school and community kitchen-mothers groups, one of the central foci of the SSM has done an excellent job--providing good nutrition, training pre-school youngsters and serving as a liaison with the government health service--immunization and the like;

- Thousands of youth have found a constructive outlet for their idealism in the SSM communities, e.g., helping in emergencies such as floods and cyclones;

- Necessary skills in agriculture has helped many thousands of youth to lead productive lives in the rural villages.

In general, Dr. Ratnapala's findings were mixed. As indicated above he found some positive things about the SSM. However, he and his team also found villages whose organization was in shambles, with incomplete projects and unhappy frustrated villagers. Their conclusion seems to indicate that most of the problems tend to come as a result of "overdependence" on the top personalities of the SSM. He and his team cite the rigidity of the SSM headquarter's policy and planning which focus on batik, community kitchens, etc. and overlooks the "dire" need of the villagers. This is not to say that the concentration of these events are unimportant. Of course the SSM has achieved significantly in the areas of road building, schools, clinics, etc. But the study tends to also suggest that the SSM has "bitten off more than it can chew."

Observations

In conclusion, the SSM continues the activities of consciousness raising through self-reliance, even though it remains dependent on external financial aid, and the milk powder from industrial countries, and books they give to the SSM schools. The principles of the SSM seem to be viable and the senior government officials at least in some of their speeches tend to support the SSM programs. If such support is followed by concrete commitment politically and financially, this will add an advantageous effect to the SSM programs. Section III, the last section of this paper will highlight the differences and similarities of the two Movements.

SECTION III

Some Observations of the Two Alternative Education Rural Movements

RCTC and SSM

The purpose of this section is to highlight some of the common and different elements in the two rural Movements in the politically independent countries of Kenya and Sri Lanka. There is a clear and distinct indication that the RCTC and the SSM are concerned about helping the rural poor to help themselves through self-reliance efforts. It is apparent that RCTC is capitalistic (making money) oriented, while the SSM tends to be socialistic, moralistic, and spiritualistic in its philosophic tendency. The latter approach, however, does not negate the need for the SSM to make money in order to offset the expenses of its numerous rural activities. It has already been noted that some of the sources of income for running the SSM activities come from the sale of batiks, baskets and agricultural products.

Unlike the RCTC, the SSM operates in a voluntary fashion; most of its activities in the villages are carried out by volunteers. In many of the Gramodaya Centers, there are either two or three SSM volunteer workers who have been trained in community leadership, community development, and some training in agriculture. Each of these volunteer workers are all purpose individuals; and each is responsible for coordinating the SSM activities in one or more villages. The SSM central headquarters pay each of these volunteers an equivalent of about eighteen dollars monthly allowance. In the RCTC Movement in Kenya, there is a low rate of voluntary service. Voluntary work might take place if a community wants to build a RCTC and does not have sufficient funds to build one. NCCK might offer partial financial support and the rest to be provided by a community. A community usually provides labor, donations in the form of money or materials

necessary for constructing such a facility. This approach of self-reliance in Kenya is known as harambee (Kiswahili word for let us all pull together). Many rural formal and alternative schools in Kenya have been built through the harambee spirit.

Another distinctive element is the evolution of the RCTC and the SSM. The RCTC was conceptualized and developed by the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCK) which is a religious organization and "alien" to the Republic of Kenya, i.e., its founders are not indigenous. Historically, missionaries always paved the way for colonial administrators. In Kenya, missionaries were the first people to intrude and disrupt the traditions of the indigenous Kenyans in the hinterland. They were also the first to introduce western education. The idea of the SSM in Sri Lanka, on the other hand, was conceived by an indigenous leader and his followers. The difference between the two Movements is the fact that indigenous people understand their people and customs more so than foreigners do. It is too early to judge the viability and development of the RCTC's Movement. With the available information on the SSM, it seems as if it has already began its third decade with vigor, momentum, and high optimism directed toward helping in the development of many thousands of villages. Another difference is the hierachical administrative structure: the SSM key leaders seem to dominate and such domination hierachically goes through the entire SSM system. The SSM, is huge, centralized, complex and operates on a larger budget and is externally funded contrasted with the RCTC Movement in Kenya. The RCTC on the other hand, is small, and tends to be decentralized in its management.

The curriculum content of the two Movements are similar in many respects (masonry, carpentry, basketry and others). They are all skill oriented. There is one difference in its clientele: the RCTC clientele pay fees for their training. There was no evidence in the literature cited on the SSM which indicated the payment of fees by its clientele in training. Also, there was no indication that the SSM trainees were subjected to formal school trade examination credentials. The RCTC, has however, formalized its curriculum by having its candidates who can afford the fees for course work to sit for government trades examination. "Nonformal" education is being "engulfed" by its "big brother," the time tested formal education.

It is hoped that the SSM and RCTC model of attacking rural development problems through practical self-reliance concepts, can be integrated in the curricula of alternative and community education in other developing countries. The model has a viable potential for practical education in the rural communities.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1]The term "rural development" is used in the same way as Ahmed and Coombs have described it, i.e., "Rural development. . . embraces all the main dimensions of personal and economic development and of family and community life improvement." One such dimension, discussed in this paper, is rural improvement through self-reliance in developing countries. Education for Rural Development Case Studies for Planners. (eds.) Manzoor Ahmed and Philip H. Coombs. Praeger Publishers, New York: 1975, p. xxvii.

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[10]Sheffield, James R. Education, Employment and Rural Development. op cit., pp. 3-4.

[11]Kenya Development Plan 1974-78. p. 109.

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